



# THE KEYNOTER



**JEFFERSON DAVIS**  
AND THE  
**CONFEDERATE PRESIDENCY**

## Managing Editor's Message

The *Keynoter* has traditionally been a journal of past campaign history. But history is made in the present, and in this issue we have an opportunity, through Michael Kelly's Campaign Diary, to experience current history—the 1988 Michigan Republican caucus battle—through the eyes of a participant. I hope you find it as fascinating as I did.

Traditionally also, the *Keynoter* has contained a page of APIC News in each issue. This was a necessity when there was no other regular news source within our organization. The *Keynoter* is still the “publication of record” for APIC, and is responsible for printing election results, changes in the by-laws, annual financial statements, and other official actions. Now, other information about the hobby—meetings, chapters, projects, etc.—is being ably covered by Harvey Goldberg in the monthly newsletter in the APIC Bandwagon, and therefore, the APIC News page will appear only as needed. In this issue, it appears here on page 2.

The last of our three issues for 1988 is already completed, and will go to the printers as soon as they have finished printing this issue, probably early October, for a late November-mid December delivery.

We continue to solicit articles, short pieces, book reviews, Xerox or photographic pictures of favorite items—anything you think other collectors would find interesting. If you have any ideas, call me toll-free weekdays: 1-800-336-0156.



Robert A. Fratkin  
Managing Editor



## NEWS DIAL APIC

APIC now has “its own” telephone number! We are listed with the phone directory service in San Antonio, Texas. When contacting Joe Hayes, APIC Secretary-Treasurer, by phone, please call:

**512-655-8277**

## ZACH TAYLOR DAGUERREOTYPE TO BE AUCTIONED OCTOBER 30

Swann Galleries in New York will auction a rare Zachary Taylor daguerreotype on October 30, 1988, at 2 P.M. This Taylor portrait, pictured on the back cover, was taken by prominent New Orleans photographer, James McGuire, probably in the late fall of 1847, when Taylor returned from Mexico a popular hero. The likeness is a quarter-plate daguerreotype, but is contained in a larger case. The outside of the case has the words “Old Zach” lettered in gilt. For additional information, contact Denise Bethel at Swann Galleries, 212-254-4710.

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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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# THE APIC KEYNOTER

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**Illustrations:** The Keynoter wishes to thank the following for providing the illustrations for this issue: Stephen Ackerman, Joseph Brown, William Davis, David Frent, John Gingerich, Christopher Hearn, Michael Kelly, and David Quintin.

**Covers:** *Front:* Sheet music, black, white; *Back:* Zachary Taylor daguerreo-type, see APIC News, page 2.



## IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Winter Keynoter will feature articles on the history and folklore of whistlestop trains, Alice Roosevelt and Prince Henry of Germany, the America First movement before World War II, and more.



# The Confederate Presidency

By Christopher Hearn

No single cause brought about the American Civil War but rather it resulted from the interrelationship of many complex factors such as economic differences, slavery, the nature of the federal union, control of the central government, differences in civilization and the rise of fanaticism on both sides.

However, the election of Abraham Lincoln seemed to bring political emotions to a head. This was so even though the new Republican President would have to deal with a Democratic Senate and House as well as a pro-South dominated Supreme Court.

Nonetheless, by February 1, 1861 seven Southern states, led by South Carolina, had reenacted the revolutionary "secession" of the founding fathers. The leaders acted on a political philosophy whose end was revolution and with radical agitation whose goal was dissolution of the Union.

Once secession had been accomplished, at individual state conventions, the leadership then had to form a new "permanent federal government" - the Confederate States of America. In order to do so, fifty delegates from South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and later Texas gathered in Montgomery, Alabama on February 4, 1861; their goal — a Southern nation.

At hand was a need to adopt a provisional constitution, elect a provisional president and vice president, and resolve themselves into a provisional Congress for the new nation. William P. Chilton of Alabama acted as host and called the convention to order. The delegates unanimously elected Robert W. Barnwell of South Carolina temporary President of the convention. Howell Cobb of Georgia was elected convention president.

The new constitution would be based on the U.S. Constitution with a few adjustments. The delegates were not so much interested in creating a totally new political system because they were more than content with the one they already had, but rather made adjustments in order to protect the social system they felt most comfortable with.

The Constitution's new preamble would start out "We, the people", but also spoke of "sovereign and independent states" and invoked "the favor of almighty God." It provided for an item veto for the president, and included a procedure to be followed in the event of presidential disability. The president was to serve a single six year term and not succeed himself. In addition, the constitution extended the prohibition of the slave trade. Following only ten days of debate the new constitution was adopted unanimously.

The delegates then turned their attention to the election of a provisional president and vice president. Southern tradition necessitated that the "honor must be bestowed rather than grasped."

Howell Cobb was a contender but said he did not want the job. Robert Toombs of Georgia wanted the position but support never materialized. Alexander Stephens of Georgia was also considered but with three probable candidates among the Georgia delegation there was too much dissent within his own state delegation to project the image of unity.

The name most mentioned was Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. He was viewed as a strong Southern rights man, brought public experience to the job by having served as a Congressman, and Senator, as well as having served as President Pierce's Secretary of War. As a West Point graduate, who distinguished himself during the Mexican War, he could project the image of a military leader or commander in chief if the need arose. Although few delegates knew him personally, his public record was more important than his private life. Davis was chosen because he seemed above state and personal interests. Some even said he just looked like a president.

At the start of deliberations, three state delegations, Florida, Mississippi, and Alabama already favored Davis. Louisiana and South Carolina were uncommitted but soon supported Davis. Georgia, with its three contenders, also remained uncommitted but caucused just before the vote for president. They emerged in favor of Davis but also proposed Alexander Stephens as Georgia's choice for vice president. The other delegations quickly agreed to also



Jefferson Davis  
Daguerreotype



The Great Seal of the Confederacy — Made in England, it was intercepted by the Blockade and never used by the CSA



Inauguration of Jefferson Davis  
February 18, 1861

vote for Stephens. When the convention voted, both Davis and Stephens were elected unanimously.

On February 11, 1861, Howell Cobb administered the oath of office to Stephens. Davis was still on route from his home in Mississippi. Davis arrived on February 16th. It took six days to travel from Vicksburg, Mississippi to Montgomery, Alabama. Every railroad station along the route was packed with crowds of people who wanted to see the first provisional President of the Confederacy. Bonfires lit his way. Davis gave some 25 speeches enroute. When he arrived in Montgomery he was led to the capital by a band that played "Dixie." At the capital William Yancey proclaimed - "the man and the hour have met!" Some 10,000 watched the procession and gathered at the capital to hear Davis give his inaugural address before taking the oath.

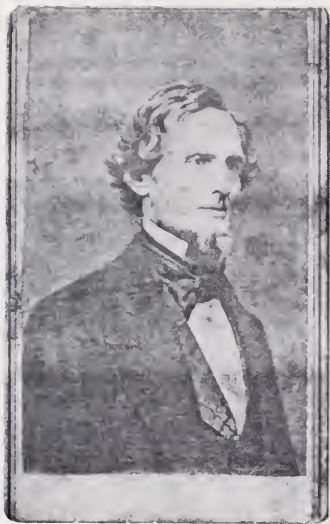
In his inaugural address Davis drew a common parallel between what the Southerners had done and what their grandfathers had done in the American Revolution. He also invoked "the right of the people to alter or abolish governments." Davis stated "We have changed the constituent parts but not the system of our Government." To him the South had exercised the right of revolution but did so only to preserve the Southern life style. Davis closed his speech with the following: "You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate; but you shall not find in me either want of zeal or fidelity to the cause."

Upon taking office, Davis found that like George Washington he had a unique opportunity to construct an entire executive branch of government. He had few political debts for his election. He also had not led a political party into power. In fact one of the political problems of the Confederacy was that it never did develop political parties.

Davis chose his cabinet on the basis of demands of politics and geography rather than on the basis of merit and virtue. His cabinet contained members from all the states in the Confederacy in order to project an image of unity. However, by using this method a man was more apt to be picked based on what political pull the individual had in his home state than on qualifications for their positions. Davis used his cabinet in an unusual way in that he would listen to what was said rather than who said it. So at times, the Attorney General might have greater influence on foreign policy than the Secretary of State and vice versa. It was also Davis' policy to handle personally matters in which he felt competent. He would often serve as his own Secretary of State and Secretary of War.

To his credit, Davis did establish the first Department of Justice within any executive branch in the Western Hemisphere. He used his Attorney Generals as de facto final arbiters of legal questions involving the government. Nevertheless, infighting and lack of administrative skill forced Davis to replace many of his appointments even before he took the oath as permanent president in February, 1862. In all, Davis had four Secretaries of State, five Attorney Generals, and six Secretaries of War. Near the end of the war many of these appointees were simply viewed as his mouth piece.





CDV - Jefferson Davis  
President of the Confederacy

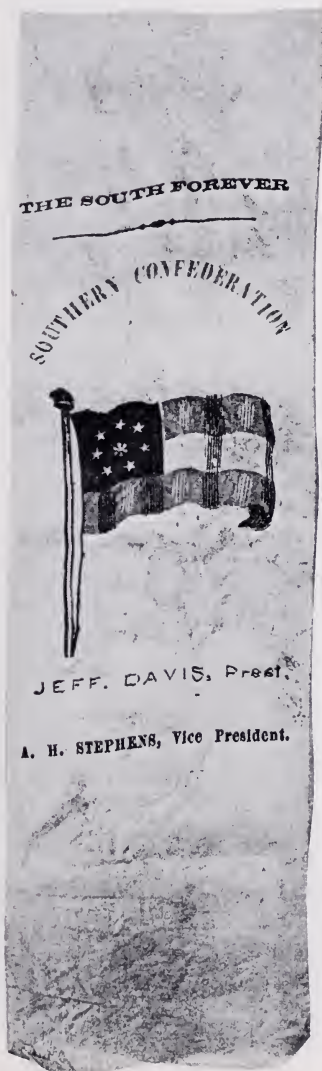


CDV - Alexander Stephens  
Vice President of the Confederacy

Portraits by Matthew Brady

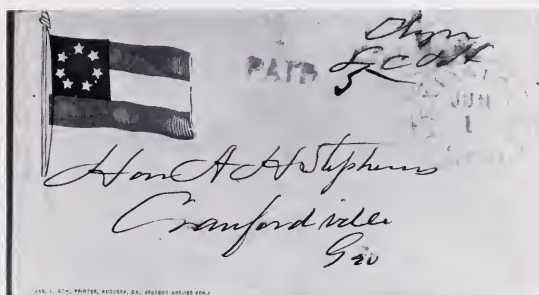


The Confederate Senate Meeting in Montgomery, Alabama



Davis tried to centralize the government but he remained administratively weak and quickly ran into conflict with the state Governors and the Confederate Congress. Davis added to his own troubles by refusing to court popular favor. He also went out of his way to alienate associates. At first, he was open to ideas and considerations offered from throughout the government. However, once the war began he surrounded himself with only military aides and began to use his office as something of a military command post rather than a President's office. As the war dragged on Davis began to take more and more on himself. He became disinclined to seek advice, and grew impatient if others contradicted him.

Davis' Presidency appears to have lacked a true focus. He looked back rather than forward. His plans for the nation could be summarized by the statement he made in early 1861: "All we want is to be left alone." Liberty and



#### CSA Patriotic Envelope Addressed To Stephens

independence became his most often used themes. He saw victory by not losing. For Davis, as long as the Confederacy existed, the Confederacy would be winning the war. The process of forging and refining the nation, as well as fighting for national survival, created the Confederate identity. In 1861, the cause was the status quo. In 1863 the cause was self-determination. Davis hoped for a foreign alliance, similar to those formed by the colonies during the American Revolution. But he was also willing to fight along if necessary.

Davis wanted the Confederacy to proceed as a legitimate national state, in "anticipation of the doctrine of self determination of peoples." He wanted to build on the belief that, given the legitimacy of the Southern revolution, the Southern rebels were therefore victims of a war of aggression waged by the North. Davis attempted to attain European support, capitalize upon sympathy for the cause in the North, and encourage nationalism in the South. Yet, most of his time was spent fighting the war and fighting the Confederate Congress.

Originally, the Montgomery delegates doubled as members of the provisional Congress. Following the entry of Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and North Carolina into the Confederacy, and the inclusion of representatives from the border states of Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland, the first permanent Congress was made up of





CDV - Jefferson Davis  
Mate To Lincoln CDV on page 26

twenty-eight Senators and 122 Representatives. Representation was based on the "necessary and proper clause" contained in the Constitution, which retained the three-fifths clause for counting slaves when determining a state's population.

The Congress was made up of mostly wealthy professionals and planters. It also included one former U.S. President - John Tyler of Virginia. About one-third of its members had served in the U.S. Congress, while the other members had mostly served in the different Southern state legislatures.

Soon after the inclusion of the new Confederate states, Congress passed a law which moved not only Congress but the entire Confederate seat of government to Richmond, Virginia. On May 29, 1861 the Davis family arrived to great crowds and much excitement. By August the "First Family" moved into the three story grey house at the corner of 12th and Clay streets, which had been purchased by the city government and leased to the Confederacy as its executive mansion. Following the general election held in November 1861, Davis was formally inaugurated permanent President of the Confederacy on February 22, 1862, in capital square at the foot of the recently unveiled equestrian statue of George Washington.

Davis hoped that by moving the new center of government to the state of the founding fathers, the rebellion of 1861 would be considered something more than an action taken by the wealthy cotton planters of the Deep South. However, the move was made for basically two reasons. One, the Southern representatives wanted to bond the new states to the Confederacy and saw this as a physical means



Caricature CDV of Jefferson Davis  
Being Captured While Wearing "Petticoats"

to do so. Second, if the Davis administration was to be a war government, it needed to be near the front.

In fact, within the first full year of the war, Davis went to the front three times: during the First Battle of Manassas in 1861, the Battle of Seven Pines, and the Seven Days' Battles in 1862. Although his actions first brought on a surge of high morale by the general populace, the Confederate Generals found Davis' presence wanting. Further, Davis' own sense of how the war should be run caused a great number of disagreements with his generals. Several were later reprimanded or simply removed from command by Davis. Davis' relations with the Congress paralleled those he had with his generals.

At first the Congress supported the image of unity, but the truce between the legislative and executive branches soon evaporated. Following early success on the battlefield, the South found itself in retreat, only to be saved for a short time by the military expertise of generals such as Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. Even with their success, the South also found itself in need of material goods and military replacements. As the war deteriorated further, Davis became the scapegoat for the problems of the Confederacy.

Davis hoped to wear down the North's patience and hoped for foreign intervention, neither of which materialized. On February 22, 1862 Davis was forced to declare martial law. The war forced Davis to enact more unpopular laws which established a draft, impressment, confiscatory taxation, and strict economic management. Such laws reversed the states rights philosophy in order to make the Confederacy a nation-state.

Davis found little help in the body of Congress. With no



system of political parties, Congress sank into confusion. With the beginning of hostilities, many of its best leaders soon took field commissions to fight. Absenteeism became a rampant problem because, as the war progressed, districts came under Union occupation and thus some representatives were left with only imaginary constituencies. In addition, at the first threat of Union troops, the Congress would quickly adjourn, as in May, 1862 as Gen. McClellan's forces began their peninsula campaign, only to reconvene once the threat of local hostilities subsided.

There was also a lack of Congressional leadership at the top. Vice President Stephens, President of the Senate, saw little progress being made by the body, and rarely appeared there after 1862. He claimed to be too weak to travel from Georgia to Richmond but really had lost faith in Davis and the Confederacy. Stephens thought Davis' policies during the war were leading to a military dictatorship.

Congressional opposition consisted of a "floating" anti-administration faction which took the place of "court" or "county" political parties. The Southern political scene suffered because rival political parties would have had the obligation to pose alternatives to the administration's program and exhibit political discipline to forestall political vendettas.

Congress also failed to establish a Supreme Court. Many in Congress felt that Davis would pack the court with his cronies. Congress also failed to agree on the extent of a Supreme Court's authority over the high courts of the individual states. Therefore, ultimate judicial authority remained in the state courts instead of the central government.

The Congress did, however, pass laws to develop the war industries and set up the first graduated income tax to pay for the war.

As the Congressional elections of 1863 approached, political opposition to the sitting administration grew. Voters viewed the election as a way of expressing their frustrations about the war. The November returns reflected a decline in the national morale. The election also reflected a loss of confidence in the Davis' administration's ability to manage the war, foreign relations or the South's political economy. In addition, by the fall of 1863, most of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee were under Union control. Thus, the Congressional elections for those states reflected only Confederates-in-exile.

The Second Confederate Congress was openly anti-administration with their number in the House rising from twenty-six to forty-one out of 106 districts. Remember, the number of Congressmen had been 122 at the start of the war, while in the Senate the number rose from eleven to twelve out of twenty-six, a loss of two Senate seats since the start of the war.

By 1864, one of the South's hopes was for the defeat of President Lincoln at the polls in November. The South saw some hope in the Democratic Party's peace plank adopted at its Chicago Convention. These hopes were dashed when Lincoln won a landslide victory over the Democratic Nominee George McClellan.

The final session of the Confederate Congress opened on November 7, 1864. As debates raged during these dark days of the war, fist fights broke out between pro-administration and anti-administration factions. One Congressman even attempted to attack another after being hit by a flying glass inkwell.

Davis tried to make the best of the situation. He asked for a limited form of emancipation for Southern blacks. He tied it to the premise that what the South now needed was the service of the slave as person. The objective was to supply the dwindling Confederate forces with non-combatant replacements. To compensate the Southern constituents, from which the new pool would come, the government would purchase 40,000 slaves who would then be liberated as each was discharged from service. It became apparent that Davis had once again requested a compromise of the Southern social way of life in order to save its national life. Nonetheless, the Congress buried the proposal. Yet, on March 23, 1865 Davis issued General Order Fourteen which freed slaves to serve in the army. Its limited success came with its endorsement by General Robert E. Lee.

As the South's military continued to fail in the field, opposition continued to grow within the Southern politi-

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7 MARCHING THROUGH GEORGIA

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cal forces. Speaker of the House Thomas Babcock demanded a purge of Davis' cabinet. A group of Congressmen even delegated Foreign Affairs Chairman William C. Rives to approach General Lee and offer the general "directorship of the Confederacy." Lee refused asserting "if the President could not save the country, no one could." Thus, Davis remained in control of the "Confederacy's destiny."

However, in January 1865, the Confederate Congress did succeed in passing a law that unseated Davis as chief of the Confederate armed forces and selected Lee as the new Commander in Chief.

Yet, even as the war raged on, overtures toward peace were made by both sides. Davis did receive an informal northern envoy - Francis P. Blair. Lincoln had permitted Blair to approach Davis with the understanding that all conversations were to be unofficial. Davis found the meeting useful. He agreed to send a delegation, headed by Vice President Stephens, to Hampton Roads, Virginia to meet with a Northern delegation, headed by William Seward, to discuss the possibility of an end to military engagements.

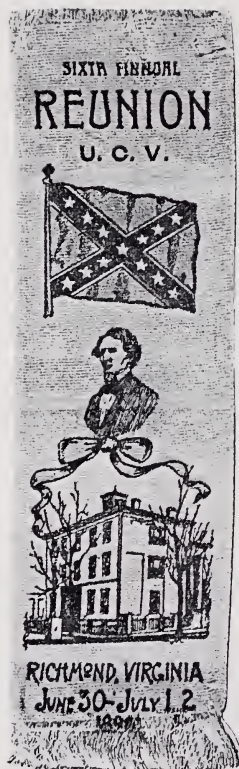
On February 3, 1865 the delegations met on the steamship "River Queen." They were soon joined by President Lincoln. Davis had instructed his delegation to seek peace for the two separate countries. Lincoln wanted to secure peace for the people of "our common country." At the meeting, Lincoln told Stephens that there was only one way to end hostilities - "for those who were resisting the laws of the Union to cease that resistance. The restoration of the Union is a sine qua non with me." The talks soon collapsed because the South still wanted independence while the North sought restoration of the Union. As Lincoln put it "the conference ended without result."

With the failure of the conference, Stephens made it clear to Davis the end of the Confederacy was near, the cause was lost. Stephens then went back to Liberty Hall, his farm, and waited until Union troops arrested him in the late spring of 1865.

As the Confederacy collapsed around him, Davis realized that he was President of a country which had shrunk to parts of North and South Carolina, a fraction of Virginia, the isolated trans-Mississippi enclave and pockets elsewhere. Nevertheless, Davis was determined to fight on. Hours after receiving the news that Lee had abandoned Petersburg on April 2, 1865, Davis left Richmond with a handful of Cabinet officials and the Confederate Treasury. On April 3rd the capital of the Confederacy was occupied and the Stars and Stripes once again flew over the Virginia statehouse.

From Richmond, Davis went to Danville, Virginia to set up a temporary capital. On April 4th, Davis made his last proclamation calling for a "partisan war." This was designed to have what remained of the Confederacy fight on in a guerrilla plan, from the hills or wherever Confederates kept the faith.

On April 10, 1865, the day after Lee surrendered at



Appomatox, Davis again moved the "rotating" capital to Greensboro, North Carolina, then to Charlotte, North Carolina. There he heard of Lincoln's assassination. Davis was quickly accused of being linked with the assassination by President Johnson and the Northern press. A \$100,000 reward was put on his head. At Abbeville, South Carolina, Davis held his final council of war. He wanted to continue the struggle but all his military leaders voted against further resistance.

While continuing to travel south, Davis dismissed his cabinet in Washington, Georgia. Then, early on May 10, 1865, Davis was captured by Lieutenant Colonel B. D. Prichard at Irwinville, Georgia. At the time of his capture Davis was wearing his wife's shawl. In the dark, Davis thought he was grabbing his "raglan" water-proof light overcoat. This event was quickly distorted by the military and the media. Soon the story went that Davis was trying to escape in his wife's dress. With the capture and imprisonment of Jefferson Davis at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, the Confederacy as a political unit was no more.★



# The Inauguration of Jefferson Davis

By An Eyewitness

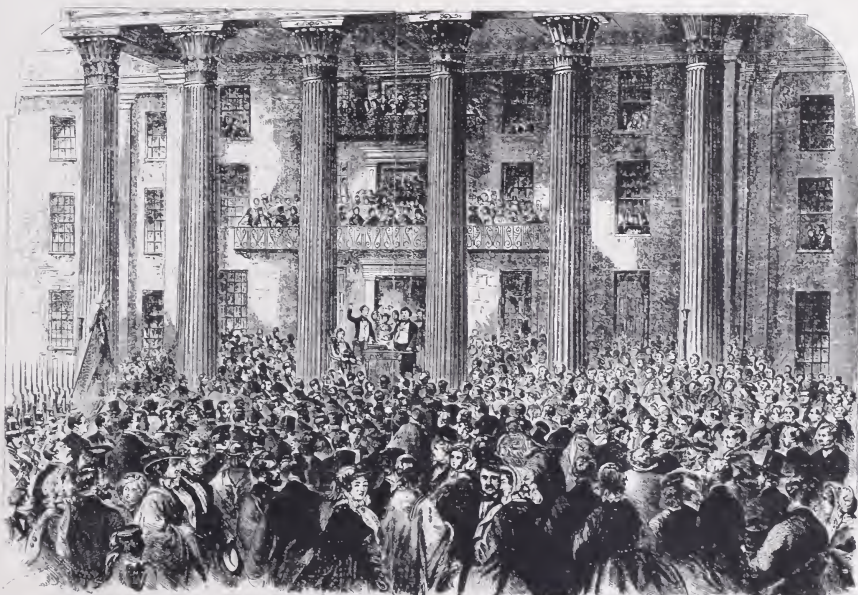
*Reprinted from Confederate War Journal, April, 1893*

The Congress of Delegates from the seceding States met at Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4th, 1861, and prepared a provisional Constitution of the new Confederacy. This Constitution was discussed in detail, and was adopted on the 8th. On the next day (February 9th) an election was held for the selection of chief executive officers, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, being elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice President. While these important events were transpiring Mr. Davis was at his home, Brierfield, in Mississippi. It was his preference to take active service in the field, but he bowed to the will of his people, and set out for Montgomery to take the oath of office and assume the tremendous responsibilities to which he had been assigned in the great drama about to be enacted. On his way to Montgomery he passed through Jackson, Grand Junction, Chattanooga, West Point, Columbus and Opelika. At every principal station along the route he was met by thousands of his enthusiastic fellow countrymen, clamoring for a speech. During the trip he delivered about twenty-five short speeches, and his reception at Montgomery was a grand ovation. Eight miles from the capital he was met by a large body of distinguished citizens, and amid the huzzas of thousands and the booming of cannon he entered the city.

From the balcony of the Exchange Hotel he addressed, shortly after his arrival, the immense throng that filled the street.

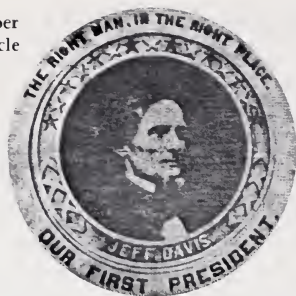
February 18th had been chosen for the day of inauguration, and as the time drew near the excitement increased. The ceremony was carried out with all the solemnity and enthusiasm that could be thrown about it. The military display was a beautiful one, and the martial manoeuvres of the troops seemed to portend a victorious issue. A platform was erected in front of the portico of the Statehouse, and standing with uplifted hand on this, while all the approaches were filled with a vast crowd of people, Jefferson Davis took the oath of office.

As the hour of noon approached an immense procession was formed, and to the music of fife, drum and artillery it moved toward the Capitol building. On the platform awaiting the arrival of Mr. Davis were the Members of Congress, the President of that body, the Governor of Alabama and Committees, and a number of other distinguished persons. Round after round of cheers greeted Mr. Davis's arrival. After being seated on the platform, the Rev. Dr. Manley arose and offered a deeply impressive prayer. President Davis then arose and read his inaugural address. Then turning, he placed one hand upon the Bible, and with the other uplifted, he listened to the oath. His face was upturned and reverential in expression. At the conclusion of the oath, in solemn, earnest voice, he exclaimed: "So help me God!" He lowered his head in tears, and hundreds wept as they viewed the solemn scene. Thus was officially launched upon a tempestuous political sea the Confederate Ship of State.★



INAUGURATION OF JEFFERSON DAVIS AS PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES, AT MONTGOMERY, ALA. ON FEBRUARY 18TH, 1861—TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE.



Paper  
Circle

# “OUR FIRST PRESIDENT”

## JEFFERSON DAVIS

By Christopher Hearn

Jefferson Davis was born on June 3, 1808 in west-central Kentucky. He was the tenth child of Samuel Davis and Jane Cook. His father named him after that symbol of American democracy, Thomas Jefferson. The family soon moved to southwest Mississippi, and settled on a farm that was named “Rosemont.”

At the age of sixteen Davis accepted an appointment to West Point. In June, 1828, Davis graduated twenty-third in a class of thirty-three. Davis was soon appointed an aid to Colonel Zachary Taylor. Davis then became interested in Taylor’s daughter Sarah. Although Taylor disapproved of the romance (he even sent Davis to a post in Arkansas to discourage the relationship) Davis was determined to marry Sarah.

Davis decided to resign his commission and return to Mississippi with Sarah. Col. Taylor gave his grudging consent and Jefferson Davis and Sarah Knox Taylor were married on June 17, 1835, in the home of her aunt near Louisville, Kentucky. They moved to “Hurricane”, Jefferson’s brother’s plantation. Soon, both Jefferson and Sarah came down with malaria. Sarah, however, died in September, 1835, less than three months after her wedding day. Jefferson never fully recovered from the loss of Sarah. He spent much of the next eight years traveling, reading, and operating his plantation “Brierfield.”

In 1843, Davis’ interests turned to politics. One week before the election, the Democrats of his county withdrew their candidate for the state legislature. Despite the local strength of the Whig Party, Davis made a spirited effort. While he did lose, he proved to be a good campaigner. In 1844, he was chosen as a Democratic presidential elector, speaking on behalf of President Polk.

Also during 1843, he met Varina Howell, seventeen years old to his thirty-five, but soon they fell in love. They were married in February, 1845.

After a quick honeymoon, they both returned to actively campaign for Jefferson’s run for Congress. He swept to victory and on December 8, 1845, took his place in the U.S. Congress. He voted his beliefs and reflected the voting record of a solid Jeffersonian Democrat. Yet in June, 1846, he resigned his House seat and took the command of a regiment of Mississippi volunteers, known as the Mississippi Rifles, to fight in the Mexican War.

Davis distinguished himself at both the battles of Monterrey and Buena Vista. Due to these exploits, Davis considered himself a military genius, which later led to his meddling in the military strategy of his generals during the Civil War.

At the end of the Mexican War, President Polk wanted to promote Davis to brigadier general. However, he declined, noting that such appointments were supposed to be made by state, not national leadership. Davis did however accept the appointment of Governor A.G. Brown to fill an unexpired term of one of Mississippi’s U.S. Senators. Davis took his seat in late 1847.

Once in the Senate, Davis unswervingly followed the Southern Democrats on the slavery issue, insisting on the slaveowner’s right to take his slaves into any state or territory. He also repeatedly voted against the admission of California as a free state.

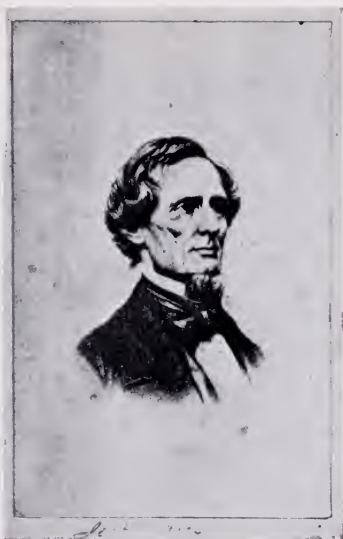
In 1851, as he was beginning a full term in the Senate, his fellow Mississippi Democrats asked him to run for governor. He agreed and resigned his seat to enter the race. However, Davis’ late entry and his poor health due to recurring bouts with malaria, he lost the race to the well organized former Senator Henry Stuart Foote.

Davis’s absence from the political scene was short-lived. In 1853, President Pierce chose Davis to be his Secretary of War. Davis soon gained the confidence of the president and his public statements were interpreted as the official position of President Pierce. By the end of his term, Davis had successfully overhauled much of the country’s military establishment by modernizing weapons, tactics, and securing pay raises for the troops.

However, even during his service as Secretary of War, Davis’s mind was never far from the political scene in his home state of Mississippi. He made an unsuccessful run for the Senate in 1854. His physical distance from Mississippi during most of the campaign dictated his defeat. Yet, just two years later, following a successful campaign in 1856 over Jacob Thompson, Davis returned triumphantly to the U.S. Senate.

Once again in the Senate he called for loyalty to the Union but also warned that there might be a time when the states must provide for their own safety.

In 1860, a widely divided Democratic Party first met in Charleston, South Carolina to nominate its candidate for president. Davis did receive considerable support for the high office but no one could muster enough support before the convention deadlocked and voted to break and reassemble in Baltimore, Maryland. The deep South delegates, this time joined by many delegates from the upper South walked out, dooming any hopes of capturing the White House in November and thus assuring the election of the Republican nominee Abraham Lincoln.



Jefferson Davis - CDV

With the election of Lincoln, several Southern states, led by South Carolina seceded. On January 9, 1861, Mississippi seceded and with that Davis resigned from the Senate on January 21. Giving his last speech, his tone was without anger or resentment, and he assured his fellow Senators that he left without hatred or bitterness by stating "In the presence of my God, I wish you well, ...It only remains for me to bid you a final farewell."

Returning to Mississippi, he accepted a commission as a major general in the Mississippi armed forces. Yet, soon after arriving home to Brierfield a message from the Confederate Constitutional Convention in Montgomery, Alabama informed him that the delegates had selected him as their provisional president.

Davis accepted the honor with foreboding rather than joy. He accepted the position out of a sense of duty and loyalty for the South but also recognized the incredible obstacles which lay ahead of him. In his inaugural address he warned that war might lay ahead and he was right in his prediction.

Throughout the war, with its early victories and its later defeats, Davis was a symbolic lightening rod for the Confederacy. As the war went so did the public's opinion of him. Although he was administratively weak and given the Southern philosophical premise of states rights, no Southerner could have succeeded in establishing the needed strong central government. There were simply too many obstacles to overcome.

With the collapse of the Confederacy, and Davis' capture, he was brought to Fortress Monroe where he was confined in the gunroom of a casemate, the embrasure of



Varina Howell Davis - CDV

which was closed with a heavy iron grating. Although never brought to trial, Davis was held as a state prisoner at Fortress Monroe, from May 1865 to May 1867, before being taken to Richmond and released on bail.

After being released, Davis traveled to Canada to be with his children who were staying with their grandmother. From time to time he traveled back to Richmond to obey summonses regarding his case. Davis was pardoned by President Johnson on Christmas Day, 1868 under a general amnesty. After a year in Canada, Davis moved to England. After living there for a year, he accepted an offer to become president of an insurance company in Memphis, Tennessee. The company failed within three years and took with it Davis' life savings.

Davis finally settled on a farm called "Beauvoir" near Biloxi, Mississippi. There Davis wrote "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government." He continually refused to admit any errors in judgment or administration during the war. With this effort and time, the South began to look at Davis as an elder statesman. He became a symbol of their past, a man of integrity and courage who had served the cause with devotion, if not always with wisdom.

Davis attended many Confederate veterans reunions, wrote several articles, and participated in lecture tours which guaranteed him a moderate income. However, in November 1889 Davis came down with bronchitis which was complicated by his recurring bouts with malaria. On December 6, 1889 Jefferson Davis died. His final resting place is located in Richmond, Virginia, the primary capital of the Confederacy.★

# LITTLE MAC AT HARRISON'S BAR

By Stephen J. Ackerman

The comic or caricature *carte-de-visite* seems never really to have caught on in the 19th-century photographic market, as its relative scarcity today attests. While collectors prize charming rarities like those depicting the election of 1868 as a baseball game between U.S. Grant and Horatio Seymour, many of the politico-comical CDVs are too flawed—either too crude, too cramped, or too silly—to have much appeal. Yet an occasional item can command significance because of its reference to the campaign.

"Headquarters at Harrison's Landing" recalls a bitter motif in the presidential election of 1864. By the time he inaugurated his Peninsula Campaign against Richmond in 1862, Union General George B. McClellan was already at odds with the Lincoln Administration and the even more impatient Radicals in Congress. While President Lincoln early tried to foster a nonpartisan approach to the Civil War, the Radicals in his own party could not stomach the idea that McClellan, a Democrat being groomed by his own party's leaders, should succeed in capturing Richmond and thus catapult himself into the White House at the next election. They were determined to discredit the "Young Napoleon" even if they undercut his military efforts.

After the Seven Days battles before Richmond, McClellan retreated to Harrison's Landing (or Harrison's Bar) to regroup. Here, at the Berkeley Plantation—where "Old Tippecanoe," William Henry Harrison, had been born—the General composed a letter of political advice to Lincoln. It urged him to conduct the war by Constitutional principles to restore the Union, and not to make it into a crusade to abolish slavery. When the president visited the army, the general handed him the manifesto, which he pocketed without comment. McClellan saw to it that the letter became public. So popular were its sentiments with an 1862 public not wholly comfortable with the idea of emancipating the slaves that the Democrats printed it as a campaign document when they nominated McClellan for president two years later.

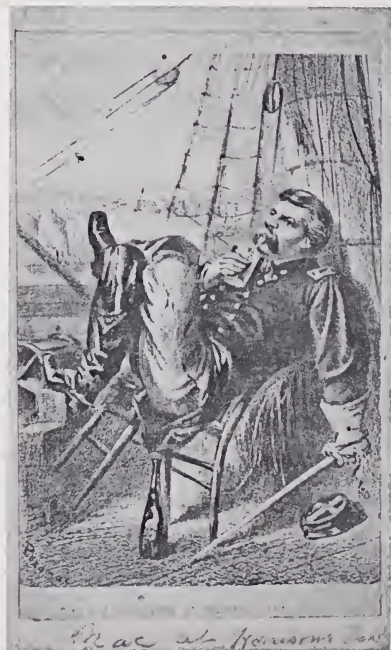
By then, Ohio Senator "Bluff Ben" Wade, the Radical and somewhat McCarthyesque chairman of the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, had con-

vinced himself that McClellan was either a coward or a traitor. Much as he disdained Lincoln, whom he had tried to deprive of renomination, he loathed McClellan and had no choice but to support the Union Party ticket in 1864. His influence appears in the work of the Union Executive Congressional Committee, which was independent of the regular Union National Committee, the Loyal Publication Society, and other pro-administration propagandists. Controlled by the Radicals, its pamphlets were far more strident than those of the other Lincoln organs. Wade wasn't a member of the Executive Committee itself, but he controlled its output by feeding it information found out or fabricated by his own Committee on the Conduct of the War.

Democrats complained that Wade's henchmen "have taken full possession of all the Capitol buildings, and the committee rooms of the Senate and House of Representatives, busy in mailing Lincoln documents.... One hundred clerks there have been employed...detailed from the government department(s) and continue to draw their salaries while engaged in electing Abraham Lincoln." The Democratic New York *World* reported that Washington's steam presses were running day and night to publish the Radical pamphlets, which the congressmen then franked to their districts, post-free. Some six million pamphlets issued from the Congressional committee alone. This formidable



Anti-McClellan Envelope Imprint



Caricature CDV Enlarged



Whoever votes this Ticket will write  
the name of his County on this blank line:

COUNTY, OHIO.

**NATIONAL**



**Democratic Ticket.**

"The Union must be preserved at all hazards."  
McClellan's letter of acceptance, Sept. 8, 1864.

For President,

**George B. McClellan,**  
OF NEW JERSEY.

For Vice President,

**George H. Pendleton,**  
OF OHIO.

[OHIO ELECTORAL TICKET.]

For Electors of President and Vice  
President of the United States,

CHARLES REEMELIN,  
THOMAS W. BARTLEY,  
JOHN L. VATTIER,  
JOHN SCHIFF,  
WILLIAM J. GILMORE,  
LUTHER SMITH,  
CHARLES N. LAMISON,  
WILLIAM B. TELFAIR,  
WILLIAM H. CREIGHTON,  
JUDSON A. BEEBE,  
EDWARD S. STOWE,  
JAMES G. HALY,  
HENRY C. MOORE,  
JAMES EMMITT,  
CHARLES H. JOHNSTON.  
NEAL POWER,  
ROBERT A. CONSTABLE,  
OLIVER J. SWANEY,  
CHARLES M. ATEN,  
DAVID R. PAIGE,  
SIMEON L. HUNT.



BENJAMIN F. WADE.

Radical propaganda machine spewed forth more vituperation of McClellan than praise of Lincoln.

To blunt the appeal of McClellan's 1862 letter and take the lustre off his heroic military image, Wade converted Harrison's "Bar" into an almost literal saloon. There were allegations that McClellan had directed his forces at the battle of Malvern Hill from the deck of a gunboat anchored in the James River; in fact, he hadn't, but the story spread without effective contradiction. Wade concluded that this was proof of the general's cowardice. To an audience of partisans in October, 1864, Wade thundered that at Malvern Hill, "McClellan simply rode along the lines of the army half an hour before the battle, and then *withdrew with his staff on board a gunboat.*" The generals in the field won the battle, Wade asserted, "But where was McClellan? There he was, on a gunboat, amidst his wine and cigars, giving no attention to the operations in the field....He had taken refuge on a gunboat so that when the army surrendered he would not be compelled to surrender himself." The same version of the incident appears in other campaign speeches and tracts, particularly those emerging from the Radicals in Congress. It also shows up in Thomas Nast's cartoons.

Wade's smear stuck. Even as late as his successful 1877 campaign for governor of New Jersey, G.B. McClellan would encounter a satirical token (apparently related to the 1876 anti-Tilden series) dubbing him "G(un) B(oat) McClellan." For immediate purposes, the widely-circulated gunboat charge cast a shadow on the Harrison's Bar letter and undercut the devotion which common soldiers had for Little Mac.

The CDV with McClellan lounging safely on a gunboat, eyes glazed and sword dangling ineffectually in his left hand while he sips wine through a straw, is a visualization of the 1864 campaign smear. The question of whether McClellan, the Administration, the Radicals, or all of them together were to blame for the failure of the Peninsula Campaign was an issue vigorously debated in the 1864 election canvass, and by historians ever since. The "Headquarters at Harrison's Landing" CDV was a handy precis of that debate to be passed around to voters in saloons, on streetcorners, and at the polls. ★

# CAMPAIGN DIARY

## Personal Impressions of a Political Activist

By Michael Kelly

Politics has been my sport since childhood. When other kids were shooting marbles I was attending rallies. Maybe it comes from being born on election day (November 2, 1948) or maybe from the fact that both my father and grandfather were active in politics and I tagged along with them. I attended my first state convention when only 12 and my dad tells of losing me at the convention only to find me again at the head of a candidate's demonstration. Over the years politics has remained an integral part of my life although I have resisted the lure of running for office.

I am a political activist. Politics runs on thousands of people like me who start stuffing envelopes and wind up managing campaigns.

This story is the 1988 presidential campaign from the viewpoint of a minor participant down in the trenches where individuals meet institutions and democracy is made real. It is the story of a Republican but hardly unfamiliar to Democrats. I find that when activists get together our philosophical differences are minor compared to the enthusiasms we share.

The 1988 presidential campaign started early in my state of Michigan because we were trying a new process that was to make ours the first delegates chosen, nearly a month before the Iowa caucuses. The process began over two years before the 1988 election with recruitment of candidates for precinct delegates who would eventually pick the national delegates.

### 1986

January 16 - The year begins with a dinner for the local black media. I'm involved because I support Bill Lucas, the county executive from Detroit who switched from the Dems to the GOP in 1985 and thereby became the highest ranking black republican in the nation. I arranged for him to be the main speaker and it's the first time we meet. We hit it off right away. As I introduce him to the crowd as "a pioneer and a pathfinder" in the back of my mind I recall John Fremont, "The Pathfinder" of 1856.

February 5 - Lucas is back in town preparing to run for governor. He is endorsed by the district chairman and meets with local party leaders. A lot of the crusty right wingers don't quite know what to make of the articulate black man in their midst but blacks are starting to show up at GOP meetings. Lucas asks me to serve as his district coordinator and I accept.

February 7 - Presidential hopefuls are becoming active in Michigan earlier than ever before due to the early national delegate selection. As none have announced, each has a special political action committee that purports to "build the party," "encourage political participation" and "assist local candidates." Each committee, however, exists to

recruit supporters for precinct delegates. Vice President Bush has "The Fund for America's Future," Senator Bob Dole has "Campaign America," Rep. Jack Kemp has the "Michigan Opportunity Society" and another group called "The Freedom Council" is pushing a TV preacher named Pat Robertson. I'm undecided but like Howard Baker best. It looks like a good time to be active.

February 10 - State Senator Dan DeGrow, chairman of the education committee, visits Flint to assist a gifted education project my wife, Linda, is deeply involved with. I set up a series of media appearances for him while Linda and I run him around all day. Over dinner he asks me to run for the state senate. I tell him he's got to be kidding.

February 12 - Bill Lucas picks Lincoln's Birthday to declare as a candidate for governor. I drive over to attend the announcement. Three other Republicans enter the race and a tough primary is certain.

February 22 - I'm up at 4:30 am to make a three hour drive to the GOP state convention in Kalamazoo in order to attend a 7:30 am organizational meeting with Lucas. During the convention session I sit next to Paul Schoendorf, a friend with whom I've worked before. He turns out to be the district coordinator for a rival gubernatorial candidate. The strains on friendship are evident. Jeanne Kirkpatrick and Al Haig speak at the convention. I like Kirkpatrick but Haig reminds me of a high school bully and he's off my list for 1988. At the convention, as much attention is paid to presidential politics as the race for governor, a bad sign as far as I'm concerned. I get my first official 1988 button; a Bush button that reads MAJORITY IN '86 / THE FUND FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE. The Bush people take credit for Lucas' party switch as the V.P. was the star player in the wooing process. A note regarding the presidential courtesy suites; Bush has an open bar, Dole and Kemp serve beer while Robertson serves coffee and fruit punch.

March 19 - Lucas is back in Flint doing a round of media interviews which I arranged, including an appearance on my own public radio program. He'll be here at least every other week from now on.

March 22 - Invited to a reception for George Bush, Jr., I take my wife and our four year old daughter, Johanna, along. When Bush enters the room, he spots Johanna and comes directly over to talk with her. It turns out that he has a four year old granddaughter at home and misses her.

April 9 - I attend a meeting with the GOP legislative staff in Lansing. They want me to run for state representative. I am complimented but unenthusiastic.

April 21 - The annual Republican Legislative Dinner in Lansing features Senator Dole. I like Dole. He's bright, sharp and funny ("If Colonel Qaddafi is so smart, how

## MICHIGAN FIRST

## UNITED WE STAND

come he took over all of Libya and is still just a colonel?"). After the dinner I have a chance to chat with him and have a picture taken. This could be a good year for pictures.

April 29 - Vice President George Bush attends a fund raising breakfast in Flint. Michigan Republicans are relishing the ease with which presidential hopefuls are agreeing to visit Michigan. Reagan bombed Libya a few days before and I ask Bush whether the lack of support from France and Spain should impact our support for Europe. The crowd loves the question, and Bush responds like a pro. I come away with a good impression of him.

May 1 - At a meeting with the state party chairman, he pushes me to run for the state legislature too. Thank goodness I have enough sense to count the votes in the Democratic districts in which I live. The attention is nice though.

May 2 - The filing deadline for precinct delegates is approaching. Each day brings more personal letters from presidential hopefuls urging me to file. I must be on everyone's list because Bush, Kemp and Robertson are all asking me to file.

May 8 - Out of curiosity I attend a Pat Robertson rally in Flint. He speaks from Detroit and is relayed by closed circuit to a dozen other rallies around the state. The hotel ballroom in Flint is packed with one of the largest political crowds I've seen in years even though the speaker is just on TV. It's my first clue that Robertson might be a serious contender.

May 10 - A warm spring Saturday motivates me to get out the bicycle and ride around the neighborhood collecting signatures on my precinct delegate petition. I also circulate a petition for my wife. Linda is deeply patriotic and never fails to vote, but is 8½ months pregnant and not much concerned about politics at the moment. She agrees to let me file her name and promises to attend the convention if I need her vote.

May 13 - The state Senate Majority Leader, John Engler, comes to Flint to ask me to run for the state senate. I am a bit dazzled by the attention from someone of Engler's stature but I can still count the Democratic votes in the area in which I live.

May 20 - The state chiropractic council offers me a job as executive director. It means a nice boost in salary, working down in the state capitol and a chance to work on legislative projects. This time I say yes.

May 25 - The petition filing deadline is in two days. An urgent telegram from Vice President Bush arrives reminding me to file. I love it!

May 26 - I dropped off our petitions at the county clerk's office. It is a small ceremony of American politics that I find satisfying.

May 30 - My sister Spennie gets married in a grand ceremony. I'm amazed at how full life is sometimes.

June 5 - I start my new job in Lansing. My office is across the street from the capitol building with a great view of the dome. Now that I have to work with the state legislature, I make a mental note to be nicer to the Democrats.

June 10 - To help me get started in Lansing, my dad and a friend of his come down to Lansing to take me to lunch with Robert Waldron, a former speaker of the state House. Waldron was speaker during the GOP heyday under George Romney and he seems surprised that I remember all those political battles from the sixties.

June 11 - I introduce Lucas before the homebuilders group in Flint for which I helped establish a political action committee.

June 13 - Robert Waldron and I attend a ceremony at the capitol honoring "Soapy" Williams, a long time governor and chief justice of the state supreme court, who is retiring. Current governor James Blanchard and former governors George Romney and John Swainson are on hand. Romney is a political hero of mine from my student days and as I stand there, a guest of a former speaker, I find myself a bit amazed at all this.

June 15 - Linda gives birth to James Michael Kelly after one of history's shortest labors. He was two weeks overdue but when he came he did it in 45 minutes. Politics, new job and everything else slips back into proper perspective when I see my wife and new son.

June 16 - Still tired and exhilarated from the arrival of James, I swing back to Lansing for some desk work and a fund raiser with George Bush. In the afterglow of my personal thrill, even the vice president seems small potatoes. We have a nice chat anyways and now that Howard Baker appears to be out of the race, I find my decision-making process moving toward Bush.

June 25 - As I familiarize myself with the halls of the legislature, it brings back memories of the summer of 1967 when I served on the staff of a freshman congressman named Don Riegle. A state legislature is a small version of Congress but the principles are the same.

June 28 - There is a reception in Flint for my old boss, Don Riegle, on his 20th anniversary of public service. Don started as a Republican congressman, split with Nixon



over Vietnam, and supported Pete McCloskey in 1972. He later switched parties and won a U.S. Senate seat as a Democrat. He's now Michigan's senior senator and Chairman of the Banking Committee. We have differences but have remained close over the years, regularly corresponding on political matters. Don sent me a free ticket to the reception and we have a good talk. Neither of us really can comprehend that 20 years have gone by since that upset victory in 1966.

June 29 - After a series of meetings with Democratic legislators from my local area, I realize my habit of remaining friendly with opponents and my activities in the black community (I have a column in Flint's black paper) have kept animosity out of our relations. One exception is Senator Joe Conroy. He is nice to my face but tells chiropractors back in the district that he wants me out of politics.

August 5 - Primary election day. The precinct delegate selection gets almost as much attention as the race for governor. Linda and I take Johanna with us when we vote and she is pleased to see our names on the ballot. That evening I go down to Detroit to hear results with Bill Lucas. The returns are an unexpected triumph for him. The Michigan Republicans now have a black candidate for governor. Linda and I won too.

August 6 - Far too early, I drag myself to a previously scheduled Unity Breakfast where the losing gubernatorial candidates rally behind the nominee and my old favorite, George Romney, gives the campaign a rousing send off. The morning papers indicate Bush is the clear favorite of GOP primary voters with Kemp behind and Robertson a distant third. However, precinct delegates were not listed with any indication as to which candidate they support and it turns out that Robertson may have many more delegates than his popular support would warrant.

August 11 - Another telegram arrives from Bush congratulating me on being elected a delegate. Letters later arrive from Kemp, Dole and Robertson. Now that Linda is a delegate, we receive everything in duplicate; one for her and one for me.

August 13 - The county convention is held to pick state delegates. Linda and I take Johanna and baby James with us and, to add to the family sense, my father, mother, sister and cousin are delegates as well. Hundreds of new Robertson delegates overwhelm the traditional party leaders and seem to be in control. I'm still on their list so they think I'm one of theirs and, like Br'er Fox, I lay low. My township picks me as a state delegate and my dad and cousin win spots in their townships also.

August 22 - The state convention opens in Detroit to select other state candidates. I run into a chiropractor, Dr. Randy O'Dell, a new delegate in the Robertson camp. I introduce him to Bill Lucas and Lucas gives him a nice bit of attention. This is the stuff of local politics. I help Lucas, Lucas is nice to one of my chiropractors, Dr. O'Dell tells other chiropractors what a big shot I am and life goes on. The Robertson delegates are wearing blue stickers reading DRAFT PAT '88 while the Bush supporters are distributing diamond shaped stickers linking Bush with the new gubernatorial nominee. They read LUCAS BY GEORGE!



Michael Kelly and Jack Kemp

**DRAFT  
KEMP**

**JACK  
KEMP**  
FOR PRESIDENT

**JACK  
KEMP**  
FOR PRESIDENT

Paper Sticker

August 23 - An alliance of Robertson and Kemp supporters control the convention, kicking out the moderates that have run the party since Romney's day. How strange politics is! Here we are with a black nominee for governor and, at the same time, the religious right takes control over the party. At one point in the proceedings, I force a roll call on an issue that party leaders want ignored and the state chairman tells me he will pay me back by undercutting legislative efforts for chiropractors. It gives me a moment's pause to remember that I am now responsible for more than my own opinions.

August 26 - There are four different chiropractic associations in Michigan divided by philosophical conflicts I find hard to grasp. We begin the process of meeting to see if we can establish a working group to cooperate on common interests. We will eventually agree to set up a legislative coalition and I am chosen to chair it. As an outsider, they are more willing to trust me than each other.



Michael Kelly and Don Riegle

August 28 - My father - Raymond J. Kelly, Jr. - has been even more active in politics than I. He's served as county chairman, chairman of our community college board of trustees and more civic organizations than I could list. I often joke that "I learned politics at my father's knee and other joints." He was serving as the Lucas campaign finance chairman when he made one of those careless comments that caused a furor. After seeing Lucas off at the airport, Dad commented to a reporter what a wonderful role model Lucas made for black youth. "I don't like most black politicians," he said, "They're mainly corrupt." Within hours his comment was splashed across statewide media and Democrats - especially black Democrats - had a field day claiming it was evidence of Republican racism. To put the remark in context, I should mention that a senior black state senator had been arrested a few weeks previously for trading cocaine to a prostitute for sex. Nonetheless, Lucas and Senator John Engler both disavowed dad's remark, which would reappear in the media for months. My dad has never mastered the art of political obfuscation.

September 10 - Friends are telling me they've seen me on TV and I don't know what they're talking about. Later I find that I am pictured in a Lucas commercial.

September 15 - Senator Conroy is furious about the Lucas commercial and warns local chiropractors that he will kill any chiropractic legislation in revenge.

September 20 - At a meeting of the chiropractic political action committee, we divide up over \$70,000 in contributions that go mainly to GOP candidates. I obtain approval for a \$500 donation to Senator Conroy as a peace offering. When I present it to him he is, as always, friendly. Later he will repeat his threats to another chiropractor.

October 4 - I stop by the local GOP Ox Roast more out of a sense of duty than anything else. It is a cold, drizzly fall day and less than 15 people stand glumly around a huge piece of roasting meat. We all sense that the coming election will not go well for the GOP.

October 9 - Negotiations are proceeding well among the chiropractic factions and we agree to draw up a bill to reform the Scope of Practice Act.

November 4 - Election Day. It is a landslide victory for Democratic Governor James Blanchard. Bill Lucas is crushed. Whites voted against him because he was black while blacks voted against him because he was a Republican. I am glad I resisted the temptation to run for the legislature.

November 18 - Another county convention to pick state delegates. Again I win a delegate spot and Linda is chosen as my alternate. It is a very subdued affair.

December 11 - The different chiropractic groups agree on wording for a new scope bill and we line up our sponsor for the coming legislative session. The House is Democratic while the Senate is Republican. We need friends on all sides.

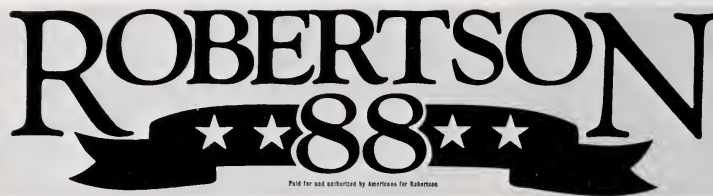
1987

February 20 - At the GOP state convention, presidential fever dominates. The Bush forces are being overwhelmed by the unexpected Robertson/ Kemp strength in delegates. The Robertson delegates sport buttons reading MICHIGAN FIRST and brag openly that Robertson will win the first national delegates and thereby deal Bush a mortal blow at the start of next year's race. As no candidate has yet declared, Kempers wear DRAFT KEMP buttons, while only a handful of Bush buttons are visible, and those are purchased from a vendor in the lobby (who turns out to be APICer Morry Greener getting top dollar on items I usually see in Mort Berkowitz ads). At my District Caucus I am elected to a seat on the convention Rules Committee and as I take my seat at the committee meeting, Senate Majority Leader Engler plops down next to me. "Hey, Kelly," he says cheerfully, "How are things with the chiropractors?" This convention I get the message in advance and, anyway, I sympathize with Engler's moderate wing. The Rules Committee battle is over control of the convention and Engler, representing Bush, wants to keep Robertson from changing the rules in his favor. The Robertson camp wins the vote for committee chairman (an unknown defeats the Republican House Floor Leader) but they lack a leader on the committee who understands the rules. Functioning as a seemingly neutral party and a calm voice I am able to peel enough Robertson votes away each time to pass the rules intact as Engler wanted. It is the only defeat Robertson suffers at the convention, and afterwards Engler expresses his appreciation. In the broader game of politics, I have earned a small I.O.U. from a major player. The only Bush item is a blue BUSH '88 sticker.

February 21 - Bob Dole is at the convention again. This must be what it is like in Iowa or New Hampshire. On the convention floor, opposition to the Robertson/ Kemp alliance utterly collapses. The Bush leaders understand the task ahead of them while the Robertson people gloat and count their chickens before they're hatched.

February 22 - Partisan politics is on hold for the next six months as my attention shifts to moving a bill through the legislature. My political contacts are helpful in the Republican Senate but first we have the Democratic House to contend with.

February 23 - The chairman of the House health



committee has a fundraiser and we show up with \$5,000 in \$100 checks and fifty people wearing I LOVE CHIROPRACTIC buttons. It is not a bribe but it does get us attention in a key place. A good beginning.

March 3 - We meet over at the capitol with Rep. Pete Weeks, who will sponsor our bill, and go over names of possible co-sponsors. It is thought that 27 co-sponsors in the 110 member House is a good sign for a bill.

April 3 - A month later we have recruited 44 co-sponsors, only 12 short of an outright majority. It isn't as good as it looks because, as strange as it seems, simply because a member has put his name on a bill doesn't mean that he intends to vote for it. One member even admitted that she added her name because "I know I'll get a \$5,000 donation from the medical society as soon as they see that." The medical society does not like chiropractors.

April 8 - Rep. Weeks introduces the bill, which is assigned to the health committee. Announced opponents to the bill include the medical society, Blue Cross, General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, the U.A.W., the Chamber of Commerce, the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the public utilities and almost anyone else with any clout. We have our work cut out for us.

June 4 - As the summer moves on, it is clear that the Robertson-Kemp alliance has total control over the state central committee but that the Bush forces, including most elected officials, are determined to win back the party.

September 8 - The health committee finally holds hearings on our bills. We present our experts, the medics present their experts. The committee doesn't seem to pay much attention to any of them. What they do seem to listen to is several other representatives who describe their personal success with chiropractic care.

September 23 - A trip down to Washington for a chiropractic legislative conference brings me back to Capitol Hill again. In the last 20 years, it has gotten bigger and busier, with larger staffs and more office space. Seeing long tourist lines at the Capitol and wanting to show Linda and Johanna some of the behind the scenes of Congress, we go over to the Senate office buildings and come back to the Capitol through one of the underground passages. I have only a general recollection of the halls, so I am delighted when we come up right outside the Senate chambers in a "staff only" area. Senator Jesse Helms emerges from an elevator as we are passing and spots Johanna. This kid must be a political natural because Helms walks right up to her, takes her by the hand and tells her what a lovely little girl she is. Johanna has no idea

who Helms is, but likes the way the corridors echo when we talk. After a stroll around the Senate, we head for the House to visit our congressman, a very liberal Democrat named Dale Kildee. Dale used to teach me Latin (although we spent more time debating economic policy than declining verbs) and we have always had excellent relations. Congressman Kildee agrees to co-sponsor a bill the chiropractors are backing in Congress, which is quite a courtesy. I also finally meet Congressman Paul Henry, a Republican from President Ford's old district. Henry and I worked together on John Anderson's 1980 bid for the GOP nomination, and although we have talked on the phone and corresponded for eight years, this is our first chance to meet face to face.

September 24 - I have a meeting set up with Senator Riegle, and my wife and daughter come along. Johanna, as always, charms everyone. Senator Riegle seats her at his desk to play with the various souvenirs accumulated there while we talk politics. We chat for about an hour, interrupted only when Johanna, spinning around in Riegle's desk chair, breaks a wheel off the chair leg. I make a pitch for Riegle to co-sponsor the chiropractic bill and he promises to check into it. "Will you be in town awhile?" he asks me as we're leaving. "If you have time, stop by tomorrow so we can talk more." Naturally, I'm happy to oblige. That afternoon Linda, Johanna and I visit the Smithsonian Museum and while looking over a big display of political material, I discover a button which I've never seen before from one of my grandfather's campaigns. It is a strange moment.

September 25 - Most of the day we spend at museums as I'm to meet with Riegle in the evening. We go through an exhibit of Wyeth's "Helga" paintings and find one that looks exactly like Linda. Late that afternoon I catch a cab back to the Hill and spend over an hour talking with Senator Riegle about state and national politics. I'm predicting Bush and Dukakis as the nominees, he seems interested in Gephardt at this point. He has decided to add his name as a co-sponsor of the chiropractic bill, only the fourth senator to do so, which is a very gracious gesture. We are interrupted briefly while Riegle takes a call from Governor Blanchard, then Don invites me to accompany him over to the Senate for some roll call votes. Walking through the halls with a Senator while the roll call bells are ringing is an experience. Every door is opened for you, every elevator held and people step out of your way. We go down to the subway and ride over with Senator Tom Harkin. Riegle introduces me as if I were someone





significant and the three of us chat easily. We arrive at the Senate floor and while I wait for Riegle to answer the roll call, I have the treat of standing in the halls of power as people like Senator John Glenn, Senator Pat Moynihan and dozens of other familiar people walk by, nod and exchange a few pleasant words with me. Heady stuff. I also talk with a security guard for awhile who shares a telling insight. When he started work, he had assumed that he would like his political heroes, and being a black American, he leaned to the liberals. He said that the liberals like Kennedy and Metzenbaum were "arrogant bastards who would step over you if you were passed out in the hall" while the conservatives like Helms and Hatch were warm, friendly and courteous to the lower level staff people. Later Riegle and I settled down in a great leather sofa across from a bust of Teddy Roosevelt outside the chambers and compared notes on our very different lives. As I walked back to the hotel that night, the Capitol Dome glowed brightly in the dark blue night.

October 10 - Back in Michigan, the battle over precinct delegates continues. Every mail brings brochures, newsletters or personal notes from the candidates. Robertson is already bragging about his "victory in Michigan" and predicting that he will win "40 or 45" of Michigan's 77 national delegates.

November 2 - On my birthday, I'm invited to meet Pat Robertson on a campaign swing to Flint. I watch, listen and have the inevitable brief chat with him but am unimpressed. At this point I am all but certain to support Bush. I pick up a nice rectangular ROBERTSON '88 button and matching bumper sticker for my collection.

November 14 - Rep. Jack Kemp makes another Flint visit to win more delegates as the final convention approaches. I take Johanna along to meet him and she has her picture taken with Kemp and decides that he is her choice. I like Kemp well enough, especially his success in the black community, but that gold standard business seems silly. There is a pile of nice JACK KEMP FOR PRESIDENT buttons with a flag motif and I pick up a half dozen for trading.

November 15 - The Health Committee voted on our bill today. It was an amazing experience. Members were offering amendments in batches, some scribbled on the backs of envelopes. Some were accepted and others rejected without any clear pattern. Through it all the chairman assured us he would bring the bill through. When the dust

had cleared, the vote was 16 to 4 to pass the bill.

November 18 - I am literally standing in the lobby outside the House chamber making last minute pleas with wavering representatives. We count the numbers with our Democratic leaders and then do the same with our Republican friends. With several key supporters missing (it is deer hunting season in Michigan) we are cautious but confident. Finally, we decide to go for it. With all the powerful opponents to this bill, many friendly representatives take the position of being willing to vote with us only if their vote is needed. I go up to the gallery for the vote count and watch the votes go one by one. The final result is a surprise; 64 Yes, 29 No, 8 Abstaining with 9 Absent. We win in the House. Now to the Senate.

November 25 - Word comes that our bill arrived in the Senate and was not assigned to the Health Committee as everyone had assumed. Instead, Senator Engler assigned it to the Commerce Committee. I take it to be a good sign; Engler was trying to keep the bill in friendly territory. One surprising note: the Chairman of the Commerce Committee is Senator Richard Posthumus. Posthumus is state chairman of the Jack Kemp campaign.

December 3 - George Bush is back in Michigan and I'm invited to come back after the public session for a chat. I've admired his performance in the debates and have decided to support him. My district is still Robertson territory so it will take some strategy to keep the delegates out of Robertson's hands.

December 4 - I attend the annual state Senate Republican fund raising dinner along with Dr. Tom Palmer, president of my association. Now that our bill is in the Senate, we are keenly interested in keeping on good terms with the Senate majority. I hope that at some point in the evening I will be able to give my regards to Senator Engler and maybe Senator Posthumus just to remind them that we are here and bought tickets. Much to my surprise, Engler waves me over to him from across the room. I know enough to bring Dr. Palmer with me (self interest says always keep your home base covered) and when we get to Engler he says, "Wait here, I want to talk to you with Posthumus." It is a shock - the two senators I want to talk to actually want to talk to me. I wonder what is up. In a moment Engler is back with Posthumus, and the two don't want to talk about legislation, they want to talk about the upcoming meeting of the state central committee. "Can you get a proxy for state central from your



George Bush and Michael Kelly



district?" Engler asks. The state central members from my area are hard core Robertson but I'm on good terms with them and apparently Engler knows this. I promise to try and Engler and Posthumus tell me that the upcoming meeting will be critical and decided by a handful of votes. Again, my party activities blend with my job and Dr. Palmer is impressed. I'm curious as to why the chairmen of the Bush and Kemp campaigns are working together.

December 6 - The morning papers bring the news that Senator Posthumus has cut a deal with Senator Engler to give Kemp a large bloc of national delegates in exchange for bringing Kemp supporters out of the alliance with Robertson. I get on the phone to the state central members from my district and get a promise that I have a proxy if one of them doesn't show up. All are planning to attend, however.

December 12 - I attend the state central committee meeting in Lansing. The room is overflowing with dozens of reporters and six TV camera crews filming all the proceedings. As I walk in, Engler approaches and inquires as to whether I have a proxy vote. All of my district members are here so my proxy is invalid. He's disappointed, as the issue may be decided by one or two votes. It is an angry meeting. Most Kemp supporters are refusing to go along with Posthumus in aligning with Bush. The Robertson/Kemp coalition people are all wearing large red and white buttons that read UNITED WE STAND. Naturally I get one of them for my collection, thinking that

it is a great presidential item but how few collectors may ever know the story behind it. The issue to be decided is whether the state committee will change the party rules to override the right of county committees to allocate state delegates. The Robertson/Kemp forces want to set the allocations from above while the Bush/Kemp group wants to let the counties do it. Speaker after speaker has his say culminating with an impassioned plea by former Governor Romney in support of the Bush position. Out of the 116 votes on state central, the Robertson/Kemp alliance wins by two votes. Even in defeat, the Bush forces have come back after two years of Robertson domination and momentum moves to Bush. Within 48 hours, a judge rules that the Robertson action was illegal anyway. Whichever side wins the state convention, it is clear that Jack Kemp will have far more than his share of national delegates. Although many Kemps are mad at Posthumus, he has put his candidate in a position to win a lot of delegates.

December 20 - We've received Christmas cards from the Bush family and the Kemp family. Have I done something to offend Pat Robertson? Maybe he doesn't believe in mixing church and state by sending out political Christmas cards.

1988

January 4 - As the county conventions approach, the state GOP is going through convulsions. Lawsuits and countersuits fill the courts and both sides are accusing

each other of trickery and high handed tactics. At a meeting with the state Bush campaign, I am told that my district is such hard core Robertson territory they aren't going to fight there. I suggest working a deal with the Kemp camp and I'm told that it's in my hands and anything I can do to keep delegates from Robertson will be welcome.

January 6 - Talking it over with local Bush supporters, I recommend they run as Kemp delegates if that is what it takes to win a seat as a state delegate.

January 14 - At our county convention, the bitterness marking the battle around the state is not evident. Robertson appears to be in total control and Bush has almost no advocates. State delegates are chosen by ward and township and I am elected as a Kemp delegate from my area. When the votes are all in, it looks like a Robertson triumph; Robertson 39, Kemp 28, Bush 1, but I am elated. The national delegates are to be chosen by district caucus and our congressional district includes areas outside our county. There are 80 state delegates in our district and Robertson hasn't won yet.

January 15 - Bush won all 12 delegates from the other counties, giving us a district total of Robertson 39, Kemp 28 and Bush 13. Robertson is one vote shy of control.

January 21 - We hold a caucus of the Kemp delegates to see if a compromise can be worked out with the Bush delegates. If every Kemp and Bush delegate votes together we could win the caucus by one vote. Most Kemp delegates are willing to make a deal on the three national delegates and three alternates, giving Bush the alternates while giving Kemp all three delegates. However, two Kempers are determined that Bush will have nothing. They talk about him being a member of the Trilateral Commission and so forth, leaving the rest of us staring at the ceiling in frustration. They both state flatly they will vote with the Robertson camp rather than allow Bush even an alternate.

January 25 - At a smaller meeting, party leaders favoring Kemp try to pick a slate for national delegates. Everyone assumes I want a national delegate slot, but I have already decided that it would be too visible and probably conflict with my legislative work for the chiropractors. My willingness to step aside gives me some leverage and we pick a slate of Kemp delegates, two of whom would pick Bush over Dole if Kemp dropped out. I am perfectly satisfied with this as I see Dole as the only threat to Bush. I decide to run for the post of presidential elector, which almost everyone forgets is also to be chosen at the caucus. It is less likely to draw attention, and my taste for political history would relish a chance to serve in the electoral college.

January 29 - This is it. After two years we are finally going to pick the national delegates. As Dad has also won a delegate slot (also for Kemp, but he is more firmly for Kemp than I), we drive over to the convention in Grand Rapids together and share a hotel room. Our caucus is one of 18 held that night in various rooms around the hotel and convention center. We meet in an elegant mirrored ballroom with crystal chandeliers. The Robertson people sit over on one side, the Kempers on the other. The small glum group of open Bush delegates sit behind the

Kempers. It is evident immediately that we are not well organized. The Bush delegates refuse to vote for one of the national delegate candidates the Kemp side chose. The other two (who are favorable to Bush anyways) they accept but they refuse to go with the third. The open Bush supporters are unhappy about not getting any alternates in exchange for their votes and feel as if they have to make a stand somewhere. I become the liaison between the groups and am worried to note that the two Kemp delegates who refused to allow Bush even an alternate are pointedly seated in the middle of the Robertson delegates.

As we move through the evening's business the Robertson side wins all the preliminary votes, electing their candidates for Rules and Credentials committees and winning a key vote allowing the national delegates to be chosen by a plurality instead of an absolute majority. Clearly the two anti-Bush Kemp delegates are voting with Robertson on all the preliminaries. Huddling in the back of the room, we agree to withdraw the candidate opposed by the Bush delegates and name another weaker candidate instead. When nominations are opened, the Robertson camp tries a trick; they nominate two Robertson delegates and an absent Kemp supporter. They must be concerned about their strength. Matters become very confused, and to make things even sloppier, the rules supported by Robertson's camp state that while delegates are nominated by slate, votes are cast for individual candidates and tallied separately.

Just before the vote, I am recognized to make a brief comment. I remind the group that even though we are bitterly divided tonight, we have to remember we will be together later. I quickly review the terrible things that those Democrats would do if our disunity let them win the election. It brings many nods and calls of agreement from around the room. Perhaps a good bit of timing. Now the vote.

Voting is by secret ballot and will take a half hour or so to complete. After casting our votes, Dad and I stroll out into the convention hall lobby and I take the chance to search for buttons. The Robertson booth has a new blue ROBERTSON PRESIDENT button along with the ROBERTSON 88 stickers that have been around awhile. At the Bush office they are passing out GEORGE BUSH 88 lithos with a matching sticker while the Kemp people have JACK KEMP FOR PRESIDENT stickers that match the buttons I found earlier. Dole has been almost invisible since he decided not to contest the Michigan race, and the only Dole items readily available are blue and yellow SENATOR BOB DOLE stickers left over from his 1986 senate race. A few Dole supporters have a blue and yellow plastic rectangle that says DOLE/PRESIDENT but I don't see any I have a chance to get. There are vendors selling buttons, of course, and the two most popular are I'D RATHER BUSH, a reference to a televised argument Bush had with TV anchorman Dan Rather a few weeks before, and a true classic (which is selling like hotcakes) that reads HE'S TANNED, RESTED AND READY! NIXON IN '88.



Dad and I head back to the caucus room as the vote tally is being completed. I chat with Rev. Karl Barancik, a pastor from Flint and a strong leader among the Robertson delegates. We exchange compliments on how each of us handled things that night. His wife, however, seems upset with me and unable to put aside the competition as easily. I tell Barancik that my reading is that his side has won the delegates by one vote and he agrees.

After a few moments the room quiets down as the tellers complete their work and pass the results to the chairman. Clearly there were a variety of votes switching because Kemp won two delegate slots while Robertson won the third delegate and all three alternates. We are delighted. We snatched away two delegates that had been conceded to Robertson even by the state campaign staffs.

The next piece of business is choosing the elector. I did up a flier and passed it around earlier boosting myself for elector but no one knows what will happen. The chairman opens the floor for nominations and the Robertson camp's leader leaps to his feet and obtains recognition. I look from across the room to hear who they'll put up against me. "Mr. Chairman," he says, "I would like to nominate Michael Kelly for elector." It is a pleasant surprise after such a hard fight and I am chosen elector unanimously.

January 30 - The morning papers, printed before our caucus wrapped up at 1:30 am this morning, credit Robertson with all the delegates from our district. That's how certain people were of the result. It isn't on a par with "Dewey defeats Truman," but it starts the day with a glow of satisfaction. Dad and I head over to the main convention which still must pick the 22 at-large delegates plus our national committeeman and committeewoman. Results from the credential committee and the caucuses last night make it clear that Bush will dominate the convention, which outrages the Robertson people. Their candidate had been bragging all over the country for over a year how he had already won Michigan and now he was going to have only a handful of delegates. The Robertson delegates decide to bolt the convention, declaring it illegal, and want to hold their own convention in the basement. I am in the middle of a furious argument in the middle of our delegation and later find out that it was televised by a Detroit TV station that had a crew on the floor at the time. Almost half of our delegation leaves for the "rump convention" downstairs to hold their own convention. Their departure leaves Bush in absolute control of the proceedings.

I pick up some interesting items for my collection, especially for my George Romney stuff. I already have locals and hopeful material for Romney plus items from when his wife, Lenore, was the GOP U.S. Senate candidate in 1970. Now, Romney's daughter-in-law, Ronna, is running for national committee and I add an I LOVE RONNA button and a RONNA ROMNEY t-shirt to my collection. A few Bush, Dole, Robertson and Kemp posters wind up under my chair over the course of the day as well.

Romney wins her race and Bush wins the bulk of the at-large delegates, giving a final total for Michigan of



Michael Kelly and Bob Dole



Paper Sticker



Bush 37, Kemp 32 and Robertson 8. Down in the basement the total is reversed; Robertson 43, Kemp 21 and Bush 13. At both conventions Kemp, who was third in precinct and state delegates, won far more national delegates than his support warranted. His supporters played both sides against the middle and came out ahead. Pat Robertson, who had been poised to fly into Michigan triumphantly, made a surprise visit to the "rump" convention to claim victory anyway, to the delight of his loyal supporters.

Dad and I, tired from little sleep but with the satisfaction of having been a part of what Dad called "a splendid brawl," head for home.★



# EPILOGUE

## NOTES ON THE CAMPAIGN

By Michael Kelly

The 1988 battle for Michigan's GOP national delegates was the earliest and most intense in the nation. It overshadowed and detracted from Bill Lucas' effort to become America's first elected black governor and eventually split the party down the middle. The original precinct delegates on which the process was based were elected in August, 1986, 2½ years before the 1988 election. Their names were listed on the ballot without any indication of presidential preference. Pat Robertson recruited thousands of precinct delegates in normally Democratic areas where the GOP organization was weak and, in alliance with supporters of Jack Kemp, won control of the party state committee, moving to alter rules to benefit his campaign.

For over 30 years local GOP elected officials were automatically delegates to the county conventions that picked state delegates who in turn chose national delegates. As these officials tended to favor Bush, Robertson forces voted to exclude them. Later the Robertson-controlled state committee, knowing that county commit-

tees were more pro-Bush than the state committee, voted to switch the power of delegate allocation from the county to the state committee. This was the battle that split the Kemp camp and resulted in the narrow state committee vote described in the preceding article. Both moves were overturned by the courts but the dispute resulted in a state convention bolt by Robertson supporters and two rival delegations being sent to New Orleans. Instead of being the first delegates chosen, Michigan's wound up being the last.

The party has since successfully reunited and stands a good chance of delivering Michigan for Bush, a matter of personal interest to me as my role as a Presidential Elector depends on Bush's winning the state.

One last note; on July 29th the State Senate passed the chiropractic bill 24 to 9. It seemed an impossible task in the face of the entrenched powers opposing the effort, but it was done. Oh yes, the different chiropractic groups voted to merge into a single organization and I was chosen as its executive director. Life is an interesting experience when you choose to be involved.

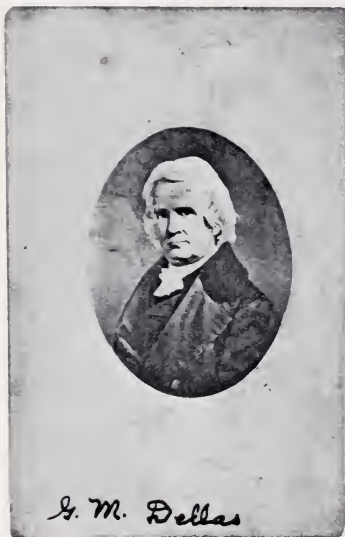


Pat Robertson (right) with unidentified Michigan Republican

# CARTES-DE-VISITE: CONTINUED

As Stephen Ackerman pointed out in the last issue of the *Keynoter*, CDV's are an interesting, attractive — and inexpensive — way to collect the candidates of the last half

of the 19th century, as well as many other leading Americans. The *Keynoter* will publish more CDV's in future issues.



Vice President 1845-1849



Lincoln Cabinet Members:  
Secretary of War Stanton  
Secretary of State Wm. Seward\*  
Secretary of the Treasury Chase\*



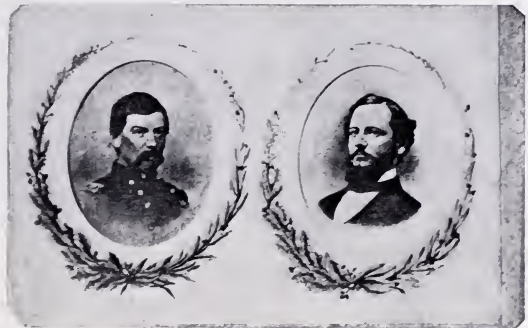




John Breckinridge - 1860\*



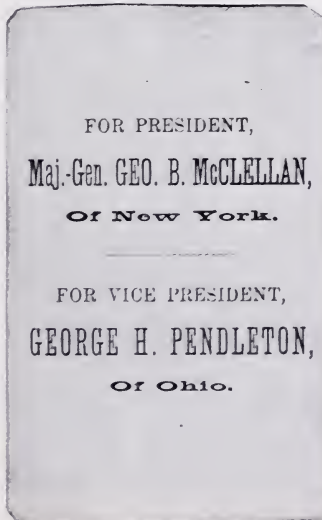
The Capture of John Wilkes Booth



McClellan and Pendleton 1864



Anti-McClellan  
Caricature - 1864



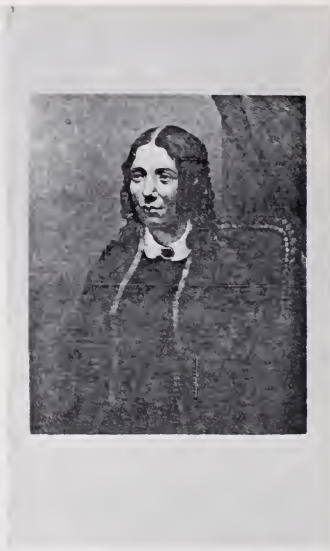
Reverse of Jugate CDV Above



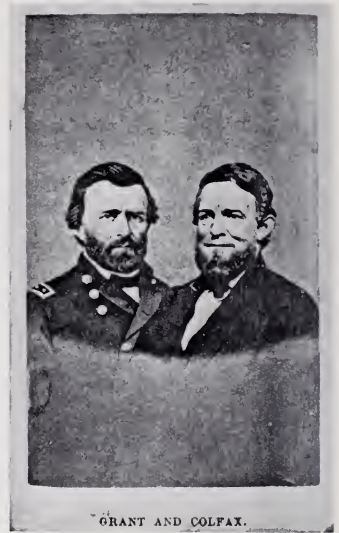
\*Portraits by Mathew Brady



Black Minstrel with Banjo Holding  
the Emancipation Proclamation  
with Lincoln's Name on the Bottom  
of the Document



Harriet Beecher Stowe  
Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin



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ARTISTS' MATERIALS,  
And Wax Flower Materials,  
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**Thorne's Art Union,**  
**921 MAIN STREET.**

FOR President, FOR Vice President.

U. S. GRANT. HENRY WILSON.

"Despite the annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency, at the rate of one hundred million dollars a year."



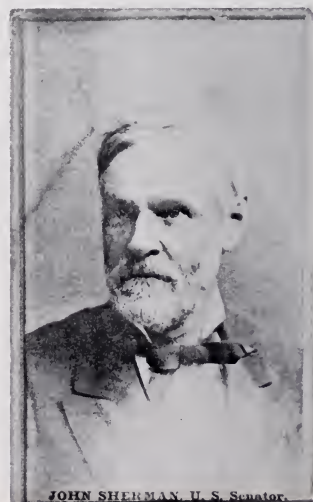
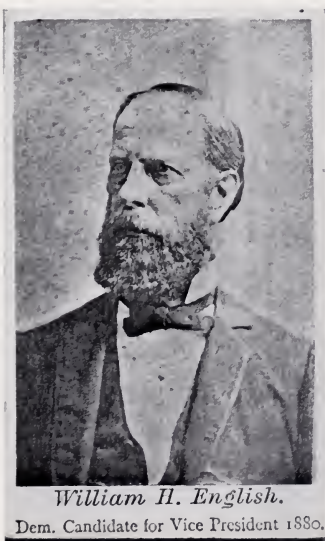
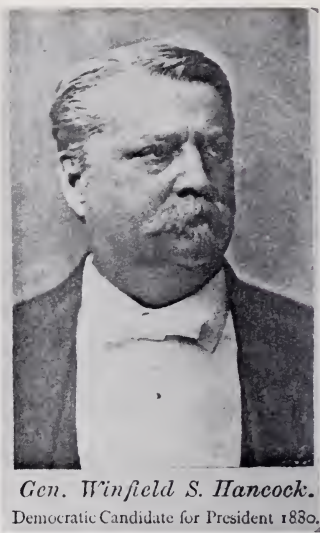
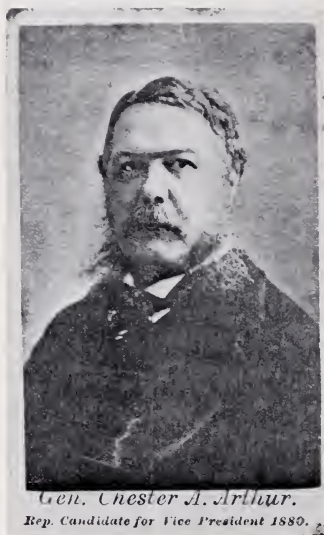
Four Views of Horace Greeley  
at Different Stages of Life



Greeley's Vice Presidential  
Candidate - 1872









Victoria Woodhull - First Woman  
Candidate For President - 1872



Benjamin Butler - Candidate of the  
Greenback Party - 1884.



Peoples Party (Populist) Candidate in  
1892, Greenback - Labor Party 1880



Greenback Party Candidate 1876  
Peter Cooper



Cleveland & Hendricks - 1892  
Cardboard Picture in Brass Frame





Rev. Henry Ward Beecher



*Tennessee Claflin*

Tennessee Claflin, Stockbroker,  
Sister of Victoria Woodhull



Miss Tennie C. Claflin. (Broker.)



1 *Isabel Somers*  
2 *Makith B. Case*  
3 *Frances Elvira*

Founders of the Women's  
Christian Temperance Union



1 *Isabel Somers*  
2 *Makith B. Case*  
3 *Frances Elvira*



Photo Cut to Fit CDV Album.  
Shows McKinley and Hobart  
Admiral's Hats



# Hands Across The Bloody Chasm

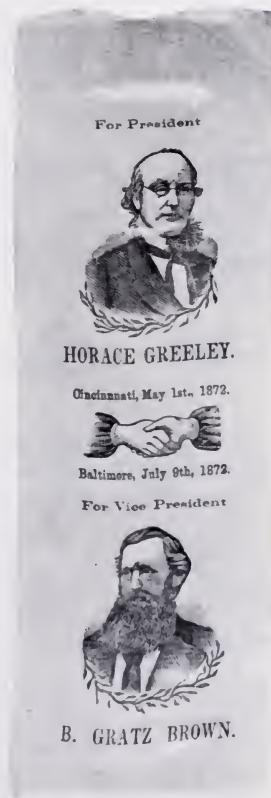
## A SPECTACULAR 1872 GREELEY-BROWN RIBBON

By Roger Fischer

Even since Ed Sullivan and I began work on *American Political Ribbons and Ribbon Badges*, I have been asked my opinion of the finest single known American political ribbon. I have no set favorite, but a strong case could be made for this exceptional variety recently acquired by Milwaukee's Joseph Brown. First, it is a rarity of rarities, not only the only known specimen of this design we have seen, but the only Horace Greeley-B. Gratz Brown jugate ribbon ever reported by the knowledgeable collectors with whom I have spoken. Greeley ribbons of any sort are exceptionally rare, of course, and in four years of cataloguing the major public and private collections (excepting only two New York collections where access was denied to us), we came up with a grand total of two campaign ribbons (neither picturing even Greeley) and a memorial piece.

Rarity aside, this fine ribbon attains unusual historical significance in both its clasped-hands graphics and its inscription, listing both of the nominating conventions to sanctify his bizarre candidacy. A leader (along with Carl Schurz, Charles Sumner, and Charles Francis Adams) in the revolt of Republican reformers against the corruption of Ulysses Grant's administration, Greeley was nominated to head a "Liberal Republican" protest ticket with Missouri Democrat B. Gratz Brown on May 1, 1872, in Cincinnati during a tumultuous gathering of do-gooders representing virtually every reform crusade of the day. In many ways as quixotic a figure as the movement he led, the New York editor won credibility as a presidential contender on July 9 in Baltimore, when the Democrats conferred upon him their nomination as well, choosing to sacrifice party integrity rather than a slim chance of defeating Grant. In accepting the latter nomination, Greeley urged North and South to "let us clasp hands over the bloody chasm," a much-publicized sentiment symbolized on this ribbon by the clasped-hands graphics in the center. An understandable plea from a Yankee Radical whose hopes rode upon the votes of white southerners, the quotation nonetheless only underscored the fragility and patent artificiality of this Radical-rebel coalition. Grant supporter Thomas Nast used the remark again and again as the tag line in brutally effective cartoons, including one portraying Greeley proclaiming the plea over the graves of dead Union prisoners of war at Andersonville. Lacking any vestige of unifying focus, the Greeley campaign generated little support, popular or financial, and as a result produced few campaign items other than mass-

produced vendor wares with Grant-Henry Wilson mates. Maybe unique as a Greeley-Brown jugate silk, Joe Brown's remarkable ribbon is nearly as unusual simply as a Greeley campaign object reflecting the dual parentage and idealism of a doomed endeavor.★



# A FAREWELL TO G. MENNEN WILLIAMS

## PART TWO

In response to the article on the passing of G. Mennen Williams in the last *Keynoter*, several collectors sent in pictures of items we hadn't shown.



Plastic Tab



Enamel Pins



Two Postcards From The 1948 Campaign

**CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK:****CAMPAIGN BIOGRAPHIES**

By Christopher Lehmann-Haupt

*Reprinted by permission from The New York Times, June 2, 1988***The Way It Used to Be**

One of the earliest campaign biographies in American history must be Nathaniel Hawthorne's "The Life of Franklin Pierce," which was published in 1852, the year the 14th President was elected. In return for writing it, the author was appointed consul to Liverpool from 1853 until 1858. But such biographies rarely do so well for either their authors, or their publishers, for that matter.

"They're a respectable, respectful form of political writing, which serve to extol the candidate, increase his chances of getting elected, and perhaps sell some books," observed Simon Michael Bessie, an editor and publisher who has overseen a fair share of political books over the years, including the best-selling series by Theodore H. White that began with "The Making of the President 1960." "But they rarely do very well, dependent as they are on the behavior of enthusiasts."

Ken McCormick, an experienced editorial hand at Doubleday, agreed. "When I first came to Doubleday, around 1930, it was a Republican house, as I imagine most big publishing houses were, at least on the top level," he said. "At that time, the object was to keep Roosevelt from becoming President, so we published a negative campaign biography, called 'Country Squire in the White House,' by John T. Flynn. We did very well with it, though as it turned out, it was probably the best thing that happened to F.D.R., because F.D.R., being the clever politician that he was found a way to turn its appearance on the best-seller list to his advantage.

"Much later, in the late 1940's, we did a campaign autobiography by Thomas E. Dewey called 'Journey to the Far Pacific' — the title was suggested by Lowell Thomas — which was taken by the Book-of-the-Month Club and sold around 60,000 to 65,000 copies in its trade edition, though obviously it didn't get him elected.

"Emboldened by success, we became *the* house for that kind of thing, and published one lousy campaign book after another. We even published one of Harold Stassen. But finally you have to learn the tough lesson that very few people make money on election books. And I can't offhand think of a book that ever elected somebody."

**Gov. William A. Who?**

This reviewer can think of a campaign biography that never even made it into print. In his own early days in book publishing, it happened to fall to his lot to find a biographer for the incumbent Governor of Pennsylvania, William A. Scranton.

Gov. William A. Scranton? Yes. Early in 1964, some political pundit wrote a newspaper column speculating that the Governor was likely to emerge as the Presidential candidate of the Republican Party's liberal wing. While the head of the company I worked for was highly dubious, his staff was ambitious to fill that minuscule gap left uncovered by the various books by or about Barry M. Goldwater, Nelson A. Rockefeller and Lyndon B. Johnson, and determined neophyte that we were, we ran off with the assignment like a puppy with a Frisbee.

To this day, we still meet writers — some of them long since grown quite rich and famous — who joshingly remind us of the time we proposed to them that the next logical step in their careers was to write a campaign biography of William A. Scranton. Did we ever find anyone to do the job? Well, yes, as a matter of fact we did — a young journalist named Keith Engh. And the interviewing done for that biography was probably the high point in the Governor's unsuccessful campaign. But no, the book was never published. Somewhere in a warehouse the manuscript may still be decomposing, a dusty memorial to a candidate who never ran.★

**ITEMS OF INTEREST:**

Enlargement of 1½" Teddy Roosevelt 1912 Progressive Party Button, RWB, made in St. Louis, MO.





